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"business interests make bad politics." It is doubtless this state of affairs in the city of New York that has thrown him clear over into ultra-communism as an ultimate ideal. He suggests that general education and enlightenment, accompanying his so-called collectivism, will cure corruption; but a more hopeful view of the case would be that education of the masses along the specific line of specialization of function is what is necessary in order to obtain civil service reform; and his elaborate collectivist machinery is nothing but straining at a camel in order to swallow the gnat of the merit system. Commercialism teaches selfishness (p. 195); in order to be free we must be economically free. Economic freedom, according to Mr. Kelly, consists in being sure of a living in return for four hours' work a day! Under the title "economic," the Standard Dictionary defines "economic freedom" as "a state in which one would not be obliged, in order to gain a livelihood, to do anything distasteful." Under this definition, is a man more likely to be free in Mr. Kelly's Collectivist Utopia or in wicked, competitive New York?

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*Die Proportionalwahl in der Schweiz; Geschichte, Darstellung und Kritik.* Von DR. EMIL KLÖTI. Pp. 480. Price, 6 marks. Berne: Schmid & Francke, 1901.

Switzerland, which is so often called the political laboratory of Europe, constantly puts the rest of the world under a debt of gratitude. The experiments which are going on in that compact little state may be studied profitably everywhere, and a democracy like our own can ill afford to close its eyes to the methods there being employed in the solution of great problems. No study in foreign government is likely to yield better returns to the investigator; and although the last few years have put us well forward in this work, we still have much to learn about the Swiss political system. The initiative and the referendum have claimed the attention of many students. Switzerland is pointed to by friends of proportional representation. The Swiss achievements in respect of this important reform are well set forth in the work under review. Dr. Klöti treats the subject with the greatest thoroughness and detail. He enters into each historical phase of the movement to introduce the reform in the various Swiss cantons. His minuteness, indeed, in this regard is so great that the book is made rather too ponderous for the foreign reader, and one yearns for a chapter somewhere which would bring the study into narrower compass. The work must for this reason have an interest that is in great

degree local, *i. e.*, Swiss, although as a book of reference for students everywhere it will be of value.

The Swiss have not come to their present development in proportional representation without a struggle. For many years clubs and societies of reformers were actively making propaganda for a system which would give minorities a just share in the government. They have achieved success in eight out of the twenty-two cantons, and are busily planning to capture the others whenever opportunity favors it. Very recently the people voted upon a "double initiative" to reform the federal electoral system in this respect. Signers were secured in favor of the submission of two different constitutional amendments, which, if they had been approved in the referendum, would have introduced the proportional system of representation into the federal practice. The vote was taken November 4, 1900. There were 169,008 yeas and 244,666 nays at the polling. Three-fifths of the citizens and eleven and one-half of the twenty-two cantons declared against proportional representation. It is a curious fact that two cantons, Neuchatel and Solothurn, which already use the system in cantonal matters, disapproved. As far as the nation is concerned, therefore, the movement has had a setback from which it is not likely to recover for several years.

Dr. Klöti distinguishes several systems by which it is aimed to give representation to minority parties, not only in the legislative but also in the executive and judicial departments of the government. Minority representation in the strict sense of the term he looks upon as a compromise, and its defects are clearly pointed out. There are two principal methods by which minorities may secure representation, by the non-proportional system: (1) limited voting; (2) cumulative voting. By the first method every elector votes for a definite proportion of the whole number of candidates who are to be chosen as one-third or one-half. The minority then is guaranteed a certain representation though what number is given it is purely a voluntary matter. It presumes only two parties, and, in our author's opinion, lacks "necessary elasticity." By the second-minority system—cumulative voting—every elector may dispose of as many votes as there are candidates to be elected, but he may distribute them at will. While the first system is regarded as an artificial weakening of the majority, the second is an artificial strengthening of the minority. Cumulative voting is also not without its disadvantages, for if a party overestimates its strength and puts forward too many candidates, the minority may sometimes gain a representative in the government out of proportion to its rights.

It is in the true proportional system that the author puts his faith;

his explanation and defence of this system, especially as it has worked out in the Swiss cantons, fill many pages of the volume. He discusses Hare's system of quotients and eventual candidates, and concludes, as most others have done, that without modification, it is much too complicated. The Swiss have introduced these modifications and have put the reform on such a footing as to recommend it for general adoption in other countries. It would seem still to be far from simple, and it is doubtful if it will make very rapid headway in the United States until certain organic difficulties are cleared away. Nevertheless, it is to be remembered that we have lately made the most revolutionary changes in nearly all the states in the direction of ballot reform, and we seem to be on the eve of another great change, *i. e.*, from the paper ballot to the automatic machine. Ballot reforms touch only the surface. These reforms in the systems of representation go deep down to the root of the whole problem of suffrage. Is it fair and just that more than one-half of the electors should speak for the whole electorate? Would it not be more just and at the same time more expedient to give the various groups and parties in the electorate a representation in the government in proportion to their numerical strength? If this can be done conveniently and satisfactorily most people will favor the adoption of the proportional system of representation.

When only one officer is to be elected in a district as a governor in a state or a mayor in a city, it is manifest that the minority must be unrepresented. It is chiefly in the election of members of legislatures, councils and boards that proportional representation can be applied. The injustice of the present arrangement does not yet appeal to the great body of Americans. They are engaged in trying to correct other evils in the political body which press upon them more heavily. If there were powerful minority groups of socialists or ultramontanes or parties held together by ties of blood and race the injustice would seem more manifest. We may develop these and they may advocate proportional representation as a means of securing a voice in the legislatures, but the Anglo-Saxon solvent works so expeditiously in this country that our political differences are of other kinds.

"The present system," Dr. Klöti says, "is born of a spirit of intolerance. We do not feel it so in the manner and to the extent that it may be felt in some parts of Europe." It was Mirabeau who declared in 1789:

"Les assemblées représentatives peuvent être comparées à des cartes géographiques qui doivent reproduire tous les éléments du pays avec leurs proportions, sans que les éléments les plus considérables fassent disparaître les moindres."

This is an extremely democratic view born of the time of the French Revolution. Mirabeau and a large body of publicists not only in France, but also in America, in the latter half of the eighteenth century convinced themselves that all would be right if there were one large legislative assembly in which all classes were represented. No notion in government is farther from the truth. While it is desirable that the different classes should be properly voiced in the government it is a great deal more to the purpose that the representatives should embody wisdom, character and virtue in their own persons. They may represent whatever you choose, but if they do not have character within themselves, they will be of little credit to the constituency that sends them out or to the state in the larger sense. None of the world's great statesmen became great because he represented some particular faction in the electorate. Dr. Klöti is quite right, therefore, in his conclusion that it is self-evident (*selbstverständlich*) that proportional representation can create "no political Eldorado."

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*Histoire de France, depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution.* Par ERNEST LAVISSE, publiée avec la collaboration de MM. Bayet, Bloch, Carré, Coville, Kleincausz, Langlois, Lemonnier, Luchaire, Mariéjol, Petit-Dutaillis, Rebelliau, Sagnac, Vidal de la Blache. Paris : Hachette et Cie, 1901.

There has been no satisfactory history of France. It is not necessary to point out in detail the faults of the existing works; no one of them represents in any way the results of the careful study of the last decades. There was an imperative necessity for the history to be rewritten in the light of our present knowledge.

This task has been undertaken by Lavisé with the assistance of the able scholars named above. It will be published in sixty-four fasciculi, and usually two of these will be issued each month, except during the summer vacations. The complete work will consist of eight volumes of about 800 pages each or, rather, sixteen half-volumes of 400 pages each. The price is only six francs a half volume. Thus far one-half of Volume I, the second half of Volume II, and the whole of Volume III have been published. These four half volumes average 430 pages each. The whole work will be completed probably in 1903.

M. Bloch in Volume I treats of "The Origins, Independent Gaul, and Roman Gaul." Nearly three-fourths of the space is given, fittingly, to the last subject. In reading this volume we are impressed by the skill with which the author has succeeded in condensing an enormous mass of material into what is relatively so small a space.